

TO THE REVIEW:

Thank you for the latest in the continuing series of Darts you have been shooting at the Newspaper Guild recently [PASSING COMMENT, March/April].

I don't know why you found it purposeful to say that the Guild's interest in seeking continued funding for Radio Free Europe "appears" to be a hangover from the days when the Guild itself was involved in Central Intelligence Agency funding, when the answer to our interest appears in the sentence following that statement: our interest stems from the interest of 284 people who will be out of work if this agency's activities are either curtailed or ceased. ✓

That should seem to be justification enough, except to those who find some self-serving purpose in resurrecting references to incidents which still have to be proved.

CHARLES A. PERLIK, JR.  
President  
The Newspaper Guild



## Culture

By CELIA ZITRON

## Culture at the summit

It was interesting to observe President Nixon's adroit combination of politics and culture as he recited a poem by Mao Tse-tung at the Feb. 21 banquet in his honor in Peking. That display of the President's hitherto undisclosed love of poetry recalled another high-level political-literary event—this time at the White House on Jan. 28.

On that occasion the President presented the Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian decoration, to Mr. and Mrs. DeWitt Wallace, founders of the Reader's Digest. For fifty years, the Reader's Digest has spread right-wing propaganda among its many readers (now 18 million in this country and 12 million in 25 countries abroad).

Targets of its political articles, whether condensations of material from other publications or original Digest material, are trade unions, welfare, activist students, peace demonstrators, or anything even slightly to the left of center. It is an ardent supporter of Nixon and of the war in Indochina. It also includes literary gems like "How Wives Drive Husbands Crazy," "Eight Steps to a New Life," "I Am Joe's Prostate."

In making the presentation, President Nixon noted that Mr. Wallace "has made a towering contribution to that freedom of the mind from which spring all our other liberties." The citation described the Digest as a "monthly university in print, teaching 100 million readers world-wide the wonder of common life and the scope of man's potential."

The 100 guests are described in *The Nation* of Feb. 14 as "almost all the luminaries of right-wing America." Members of the Cabinet were there, including Attorney-General John N. Mitchell, that promoter of the "freedom of the mind" through universal wiretapping and mass arrests of anti-war demonstrators.

But literature and philosophy were not overlooked. Sidney Hook, emeritus New York University professor of philosophy was there. His contributions to the "freedom of the mind" are numerous. During cold-war McCarthyite witch hunts, he provided the intellectual basis for investigations and dismissals of alleged Communist

teachers and professors. He received public notice again in Sept. 1970, when President Nixon described a Hook article as "among the most cogent and compelling documents I have ever read on campus violence. In press reports of Nixon's high praise Hook was quoted as describing as "noisome hogwash" contentions that there is a threat to academic freedom from outside the university." It was the students, he said, who were the destroyers of academic freedom by substituting the "political goals of action" for the "academic goals of learning."

Most recently, he has been crying out against small attempts by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to rectify job discrimination against Blacks in colleges and universities. In an article "Discrimination against the Qualified," (N.Y. Times, Nov. 5) he accused HEW of engaging in racism, and seeking to compel the hiring of unqualified Blacks over qualified whites.

Another literary luminary at the affair was Irving Kristol, who gained notoriety in the late 1950's when *Encounter* magazine (and its sponsor the Congress for Cultural Freedom) of which he was co-editor with Stephen Spender, was exposed as a CIA operation. Asked whether he had investigated earlier rumors of CIA support, he replied that he had not considered them "particularly credible" because they came from "left-wing or anti-American" sources. It goes without saying that he prides himself on remaining a "cold warrior."

However, there was a fine cultural contribution at the affair—from a most unexpected source. Carole Feraci, part of the Ray Coniff Singers, a perfectly safe ensemble, described by the President as "square," pulled out a placard which read "Stop the Killing." And she read into the microphone a statement in simple words—prose poem, though not conceived as such. She said:

"Mr. President, stop bombing human beings, animals and vegetation.

"You go to church on Sunday. If Jesus Christ was in this room today, you would not dare to drop another bomb.

"Bless the Berrigans and Daniel Ellsberg."

To say that this beautiful expression of humanity was not appreciated by the audience is an understatement.

The musical group's leader, Ray Coniff, ordered her off the stage and apologized to the President. Herbert Klein and two Secret Service men stood by as she was questioned by the press. Asked whether she "blessed the Berrigans for the bombing they planned," she replied: "No, for the draft cards they burned. I bless them for what they believe in. I don't believe in bombing, but if that's what it takes..."

At this point, she was hustled off, searched for weapons, and escorted out of the White House.

After the President and Mrs. Nixon had left the party, the *Nation* reports, some of the distinguished guests expressed their feelings. Secretary of State William P. Rogers said, "I'm sure she's just a mixed up kid." Told that she is 30 years old, he said, "Well, you don't necessarily get wisdom at that age."

Mrs. Martha Mitchell, wife of the Attorney-General made a characteristic contribution. "I think she (Carole) should be turn limb from limb," she yelled.

But millions of readers of press reports of the event rejoiced. Not even the Reader's Digest with its great resources and its vast circulation can stamp out condemnation of the atrocious war in Indochina. Carole Feraci had spoken for them. She had shown that "the scope of man's potential" cannot be contained by the Wallaces, or for that matter, by the Nixons.

STATINTL

# Is everyone in the CIA?

By Dan Pinck

What do John Gardner, head of Common Cause; Richard Ellman, literary critic; Hugh Gregg, former governor of New Hampshire; Dong Kingman, artist; Leroy Anderson, composer; Eugene McCarthy, presidential candidate in 1968; George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO and Everett E. Hagan, head of MIT's Center for International Studies and Daniel Ellsberg's boss—have in common?

Well, they're all loyal Americans and they all share space in a remarkable reference work called "Who's Who in CIA."

For at least a decade, broad areas of American intelligence operations have been known intimately by members of the press and by leading newspaper, magazine and broadcasting executives. Some of these people were in the service of the CIA themselves. Others presumably allowed members of their staffs to cooperate with and report to the CIA.

This information does not come from The New York Times or the Columbia Broadcasting System. It does not come directly from classified documents within the CIA. It does not come from a gossip column or a late-night news show. It does not come from the Rand Corporation.

It comes from a 605-page book titled *Who's Who In CIA* and subtitled *A Biographical Reference Work of the Officers of the Civil and Military Branches of the Secret Services of the USA in 120 Countries*.

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*Who's Who's In CIA* was published in English, in 1968, by Julius Mader, 1066 Berlin W66, Maurstrasse 69.

In his introduction publisher Mader refers to the United States' "disposal-subversionist war" and he writes that "the intelligence service in the USA is the largest and most influential in the imperialist world" and further observes that "the intelligence service of the USA has always been the domain of the fanatical enemies of democracy and a stronghold of the anti-communists." There's no doubt where Mader's sympathies lie. In his introduction he also notes those who helped him compile the book. These include Mohamed Abdelnabi, of Beirut, Lebanon; Ambalal Bhatt, of Bombay; Fernando Gamarro of Mexico City, and Shozo Ohashi, of Yokohama. There are 3000 entries in the reference work and they range from US ambassadors, artists and museum curators to the directors of Asian and Russian research centers at leading American universities to political affairs officers, cultural affairs officers and AID controllers at various US embassies overseas to employees of The New York Times and CBS. The listing is an impressive one and even allowing for errors that even intelligence services can make, it is likely a reasonably accurate accounting of certain leading operatives and associates of the CIA.

I bought my copy of *Who's Who in CIA* in a book shop in Georgetown, in Washington, D.C. for \$4.95. The bookshop is not a subversive one; its main fare is academia, fiction and literary biographies. It was bought because of my curiosity about intelligence services in general, an interest that began when I was in the OSS in China, as the nearest American to Hong Kong. A cursory sampling of names were recognizable to me, bearing out my own personal knowledge of selected CIA operatives.

In the intervening months I read the book through, and with the publication of the Pentagon Papers, it became a lively and fascinating resource and complement to the published secret documents.

In one embassy with approximately 55 staff members, for example, the book picked out one person as the CIA operative. Since that particular name was known to me it began to give a ring of authenticity to the entire listing. When it noted certain US officials that I had met on several tours in 16 African nations as being CIA-associated, the sense of authenticity grew firmer; when it listed the name of Dan A. Mitrione, who was kidnaped and killed in Brazil several years ago and who was identified at that time as an AID official, as an operative of the CIA, it's additional evidence that the work is as legitimate (and as nefarious) as it can reasonably be.

The book lists the operatives who have served throughout the world. The German Federal Republic leads the roster with 264 operatives. Monaco and Antarctica bring up the end of the list, with one each. In between: Ghana (14); the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (99); Mexico (90); Barbados (22); Ireland (17); Nigeria (32); France (141); Uganda (8); Vietnam (133); Ethiopia (24) Chile (42); and Hong Kong (71).

The book lists operatives in newspapers and magazines, including Time, Life, Fortune, Newsweek, Sports Illustrated, US News and World Report; in a number of industrial firms, including Bankers Trust, First National City Bank, Westinghouse, RCA, NBC, CBS, Gulf Oil Corp., Standard Oil Company, Bank of America, Litton Industries, Kimberley-Clark Corporation of Canada,

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STATINTL

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## Imperialist Intelligence and Propaganda

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IN OUR DAYS, the role of propaganda and intelligence as major foreign policy instruments of the imperialist states is growing all the time. B. Murty, an American professor, emphasises that the functions of camouflaged ideological coercion and subversion of world law and order are being carried out by means of propaganda.<sup>1</sup> In effect, Murty recognises the close connection between propaganda and intelligence.

The intelligence agencies do not, of course, conduct their propaganda activity openly, but they possess the necessary means to promote ideological subversion abroad and render it more effective. A network of secret agents and paid informers, bribed newspaper and magazine publishers, corrupt politicians and adventurers, to whom the intelligence service assigns the role of "charity workers" and "educationalists"—all this makes it possible for the intelligence service to exercise anonymous control in spreading propaganda and disinformation.

Richard Helms, the head of the CIA, stated in a memorandum to the government, that the psychological warfare must be placed fully under the control of the US intelligence service. Psychological warfare, he stressed, is a sphere of government activity which must be dealt with only by professionals acting in secret. An American professor, Ransom, who for a long time took part in the military research programme of Harvard University, holds that the role of the CIA in undertaking political and psychological subversive acts has increased so much that it has become a major instrument of political war, and has far exceeded the functions determined by the law on the establishment of the CIA.<sup>2</sup>

Some bourgeois scholars call this process "politicising" the intelligence service. "The

agent influencing political affairs abroad is becoming a central figure," wrote Bergh, a West German expert on intelligence.<sup>3</sup>

In this way, a kind of an organisationally independent sphere of so-called unofficial propaganda is forming. In the opinion of Western specialists and politicians, this type of propaganda has a number of advantages over the official one. A report "The American Image Abroad", submitted to the American Senate in 1968 by the Republican Coordinating Committee, stresses that the material being spread by non-governmental agencies is accepted in foreign countries with greater trust than that put out by the government. In view of this, the committee recommended the government to encourage by every possible means the American organisations issuing information and propaganda material for foreign countries.

A vivid example of the kind of unofficial propaganda directed against the USSR and other socialist countries is the activity of Radio Free Europe, officially an independent organisation, but virtually controlled by the US authorities.

Speaking in the US Senate in January 1971, Senator C. Case said that 1,642 employees of Free Europe and about 1,500 professional workers of the Liberty radio station were maintained by the CIA. These subversive centres make use of 49 transmitters bought with CIA money. The American intelligence service expends annually over \$30 million on these radio saboteurs. Hundreds of millions of dollars have travelled from the US state treasury to the accounts of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty for over 20 years. As for the assertions that they are financed from "private donations", it transpires that these donations do not even cover advertising expenses on appeals to the American public for money.

The US intelligence agencies secretly sub-

<sup>1</sup> See B. Murty, *Propaganda and World Public Order. The Legal Regulation of the Ideological Instrument of Coercion*, New Haven—London, 1968, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> See H. Ransom, *The Intelligence Establishment*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1970, pp. 94, 239.

<sup>3</sup> H. Bergh, *ABC der Spione*, Pfaffenhofen, 1965, p. 83.